

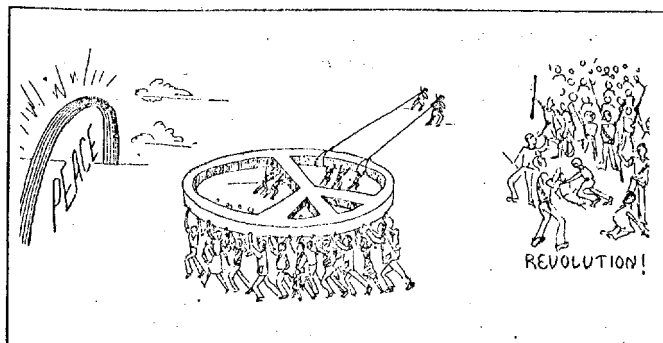
TUPART Monthly Reports

On the Underground Press

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MARCH, 1971



THE UNDERGROUND PRESS AND ITS "SPRING OFFENSIVE"

Any serious study of a large number of the underground newspapers published in this country in the past six months must conclude they are not primarily seeking PEACE, but seeking to use the naturally broad public desire for peace as a means for furthering their own basic cause. Our analyses continue to show this to be violent REVOLUTION!

In fact, in the present sample we made a particular effort to identify material which could be considered to be purely peace-oriented. The word "peace" is there—even in such slogans as "Peace in Vietnam or War at Home." The "peace symbol" is liberally present—sometimes drawn with the clenched fist of rebellion at its center. And, the so-called "People's Peace Treaty" is reproduced in underground papers all across the country—written under the tutelage of the people who command the battlefield opponents of U.S. and South Vietnamese forces in Vietnam and taken to Paris for the approval of the people who oppose U.S. and South Vietnamese negotiators there. Otherwise, we were not able to identify enough peace-oriented material in the underground papers to register in an analysis.

A year ago, the underground papers had passed through a period of emphasis on POLLUTION/ECOLOGY and were increasing their attention dramatically on THE MILITARY/DRAFT and THE POLICE.

A year ago there were great rallies on pollution and ecology. A year ago, there was a great increase in physical attacks on campus military training and research facilities, actions against the draft, and violent confrontations with police—BEFORE Cambodia or Kent State.

This year the undergrounds have been pointedly building up the SOUTHEAST ASIA issue—and the trend started months ago, between July and October 1970. Prior to that time the topic SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR registered at the 18th or 19th position in our analyses of the underground papers. It has climbed sharply and steadily since then and now ranks 4th among all of the topics to which the undergrounds give attention. During that same July-

October period our analyses showed a decline in the amount of attention given to revolutionary tactics and actions—every sample since October 1970 has suggested the July-October period was one of re-evaluation of tactics and re-alignment of strategy. At precisely the same point in time—October 1970—the topics SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR and REVOLUTION! reversed their downward trends, the SOUTHEAST ASIA attention shooting upward in a curve all out of proportion to anything going on in the war—well before the Laos invasion, for example.

Shortly after this trend reversal, in November and December 1970, the underground papers began carrying announcements of changes in tactics by the revolutionists. The keynote of these came from Weatherman member Bernardine Dohrn, speaking from "underground." She said "random bombing" had been a poor tactic, it was "time for the movement to go out into the air, to organize, to risk calling rallies and demonstrations to convince that mass actions against the war and in support of rebellions do make a difference." She even specified Kent State as a place needing encouragement to demonstrate again and cited the "national silence after the bombing of North Vietnam" as needing attention.

Among some of the pamphlets and pulp magazines which intersperse and fringe the underground press one can find the instructions for carrying out Bernardine's dictum. It is a rather common suggestion of this literature for organizing to surround an issue which already has popular support and to try to prevent the establishment from "co-opting" the issue by working into statements and slogans at least one proviso which obviously cannot be met—adding the word "now" to any complex demand, for example.

Win magazine, published with the support of the War Resisters League and favored by some of the religious peace fellowships, describes a more sophisticated strategy of coalition which can be seen at work now. *Win* contends there are "two large serious movements in the country today." One of these, it says, is the "peace movement, almost entirely white and middle class, and concerned primarily with ending the war in Vietnam." The other movement is mostly non-white and is concerned primarily with organizing against the "very real oppressions" within the society. Neither movement is really committed to

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TUPART provides both objectively derived data as to which topics are given the most emphasis in the underground press and studied commentaries on their meaning as seen in the context of the history of underground movements and publications. Commentaries are always in italics. Although there is no space for printing them, letters to the editor are welcome and will be read and considered. P.O. Box 3676, Washington, D.C. 20007.

the goals of the other—thus leaving open the possibility for the government to satisfy one by simply granting its demands. For example, if "the peace movement is committed *only to peace*, then Nixon can end the war and thereby dissolve that movement" and leave the other movement without its white allies. What is needed, *Win* argues, is a combined movement, wherein everyone is totally committed to all of the goals, "for a much longer and tougher struggle—one against the system itself."

The evidence of attempts at such coalition is plentiful in the underground press. The Women's papers have carried great amounts of material on the war—purely WOMEN'S LIBERATION material has dropped in our analyses—*The Militant* claims women will have their own contingent in the April 24 demonstrations, as will the Gay Liberation Front, and the Chicanos. *The Black Panther* paper has given more attention to the war in recent weeks than it ever has before. *Guardian* headlines "Youths Set May Antiwar Plans" and the *Berkeley Tribe* says this spring is to be the "heaviest trip ever."

From all of the papers can be seen a major effort to put as many Americans into the streets as possible in accordance with a time-table discussed in the underground papers for a number of weeks—see the two previous issues of *TUPART*. The proposition is said to have come from meetings American revolutionists have had in Hanoi and Algeria with North Vietnamese officials and to involve an attempt at destruction of the Saigon government by Viet Cong elements and perhaps regular North Vietnamese troops. The claim is that this attempt cannot be successful unless U.S. power to come to the aid of the Saigon government is neutralized, both in Vietnam and at home.

The above can be pieced together from "Weatherman communications" and statements by the "American delegation to Hanoi," printed in underground papers as far back as October and November, 1970, but the significance of the May 1971 timing lies within statements by backers of the "People's Peace Treaty" still being reprinted in such papers as Atlanta's *Great Speckled Bird* in February. In summary, the Saigon government must be "discredited" before the September 1971 elections, but strategical considerations will not be right before May 1, 1971. May is said to be significant because, according to the undergrounds, it is the earliest time after the date the Nixon administration has set for the complete disengagement of U.S. ground troops in

Vietnam. Included in even the earliest statements by the Dohrn sisters are hopes that enough disaffection can be encouraged among U.S. troops in Vietnam for them to refuse to fight to defend the Saigon government when it is attacked, but the latest versions hedge this bet by picking a time after U.S. troops are scheduled to have stopped participating in ground fighting—in order to go to the assistance of the Saigon government after that time the President would have to order the troops back into combat, at great cost in morale—and in the face of what are being planned as massive anti-war demonstrations at home—or use air power in the city of Saigon—again, in the face of massive anti-war demonstrations at home.

Further attempts to affect U.S. troop behavior in Vietnam are evidenced in *Fusion* and the *East Village Other* where appeals are made for support for New York "radio station WPAX" in its project to tape and mail to Hanoi for broadcast "daily programs to fill the gap left in the programming fed to GI's by the Armed Forces Network." Readers are asked to furnish material from their own areas such as "stockade trouble, changes in regulations, the activities of the Concerned Officers groups, etc."

Details for the "spring offensive" in the U.S. are still being discussed with some agreements and some disagreements between the two groupings of organizations which seem to dominate the planning. One of these groupings, favored by *Win* magazine and put together along lines suggested in the previously cited article from that magazine, centers around the PCPJ (Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice) and includes NSA (the National Student Association) which negotiated the "peace treaty" with the North Vietnamese. *Fusion* refers to the "street fighters" in this grouping and *The Militant* says the basic grouping is supported by the Communist Party youth group: "the Young Workers Liberation League."

The other major grouping, apparently favored by *The Militant*—itself a nationally circulated Socialist Party paper—involves NPAC (the National Peace Action Coalition) and the SMC (Student Mobilization Committee). It has placed large ads in both underground and regular newspapers announcing its planned actions and claiming the support of some labor leaders, liberal intellectuals, and nine U.S. Congressmen. *Win* claims this grouping is dominated by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The argument between these two hinges around two dates, April 24 and May 2. The PCPJ group is insisting on the weekend of May 1-2 as the beginning of the main event, sometimes spoken of as "seven days in May," to start with mass arrivals in Washington and "legal rallies" to be followed by "peoples lobbies"—on May 3-4—during which the "peace treaty" will be taken into all the main government buildings for employees to sign before presenting it to Congress on May 5. The idea then is to maintain "a non-violent line" around the Capitol until Congress acts on the "peace treaty and the \$5,500 Welfare Budget." If the police "try to break the lines or make us move on, we will have to use our non-violent heads and regroup as soon as possible and as close to the capitol as possible."

The NPAC group contends it has been promoting April 24th as the main event for months and that it is afraid of "trashings" on May 2 resulting in violence, the fear of

that received in the previous one and (d) indicates deceased. Those with no marks by their names are either too new to our listing or showed no change since the last report.

+Eldridge Cleaver	+Dan Berrigan
-Timothy Leary	Rennie Davis
-Huey Newton	+Phil Berrigan
-Bobby Seale	+Bernadette Devlin
-Angela Davis	+Malcolm X (d)
+Ruchell Magee	+Diane di Prima
+Erika Huggins	+Wilfred Burchett
-William Kunstler	+Eddie Conway
+Michael Tabor	+Carol Rucker

Newcomers to the above, Bernadette Devlin is the radical Irish leader visiting the U.S. on a fund-raising tour. Diane di Prima is the revolutionary poetess. Wilfred Burchett is the Australian communist correspondent who reports from within North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia for the underground press, and Eddie Conway and Carol Rucker are Black Panthers.

ALTERNATE LIVING. Organic or natural foods is still the leading sub-topic within this overall category. Communications and services, "dropping out," "street living," and communal living follow in that order. There is some suggestion that additional emphasis is being placed on communications and services to the transient in connection with what the undergrounds foresee as mass movements of "street people" in April and May for the rallies and demonstrations they plan.

The **SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR**, as has been pointed out earlier has literally shot up in the emphasis given it in the past few months. Within the topic "U.S. atrocities" have been given added and continuous attention and there has been a decided attempt to portray U.S. prisoners of war as receiving excellent treatment at the hands of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. *The possibility of additional Mylai-type incidents being thrust onto the public scene is often intimated as additional privately organized "courts of inquiry," such as the so-called "Winter Soldier Investigations" are conducted—and to which the underground papers repeatedly urge "anyone who knows of any atrocities, submit them!" Viewing some of this material alongside the provisions of the "peoples peace treaty" wherein the North Vietnamese are required only to "enter into discussions to secure release of all American prisoners," it might be assumed the real proposition the North Vietnamese authors had in mind was to retain these men until all U.S. troops would be withdrawn—leaving the prisoners as hostages which the U.S. would have to overtly invade North Vietnam to retrieve.*

ORGANIZATIONS. The Black Panther Party continues to receive more attention throughout the underground press than any other organization or, for that matter more than any combination of several of the other organizations. Within the current period, the next level of attention went to the National Peace Action Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The Weatherman received some attention, especially in connection with an "open letter from the Panther 21" which sought to discourage the Weathermen from giving up bombing tactics. The League of Revolutionary Workers received attention, as did the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the Youth International Party (the YIPPIES).

ROCK MUSIC. There was the expected attention to the latest albums and records and to stories about the "super-stars" that people the rock music world. There was an increase in the amount of attention given to the Lumpen, the Black Panthers' music group. In an interview, one of the Lumpen (for *lumpenproletariat*) made it quite emphatic that he became a Black Panther for political reasons and was involved in music because the Party wanted him to take music "to the people." There was an increase in material on music being played over "underground radio" or "listener-supported" radio. Lyrics from some of the music played over one such station, WBAI in New York, were printed in *East Village Other*. They were heavy with such lines as "You gotta give us back our constitution or you're gonna get a revolution—all power to the people, all power to the people. . . ." and "Seize the time, we can do revolution; it's time to do revolution; come all my brothers and sisters—Revolution. . . ."

THE POLICE. The primary emphasis continues to be on police brutality, unfair arrest, and the completely unreasoning nature of law enforcement officials. The D.C. crime bill and its "no-knock" provisions are the subject of intense criticism in prose and cartoons. There are continued contentions of FBI and police raids being "political in nature"—collectives are raided "when they are looking for Weathermen," Liberation News Service reported. There was only a moderate amount of information on police techniques in the present sample. There was, however, a considerable amount of reprinting of old instructions on "what to do when you are arrested."

DRUGS is treated in detail beginning on page 5.

MINORITY GROUPS made a sudden climb into the top ten by a combination of three interest thrusts—criticism of the Nixon school desegregation approach; details and criticism of authorities over the Wilmington, North Carolina racial disturbances; and what the Black Panthers term the co-option of their March 5 date for an "Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Chairman Bobby Seale." They contend Governor Reagan suddenly declared March 5 as Black American Day in California. The Panthers had also planned to call this date a "Post Birthday Celebration for Huey Newton." The Panthers say "Black citizens" had previously tried to get January 15 or April 5 declared a memorial for Malcolm X, but they were turned down. Now, without explanation, they contend, the day they had selected for their own purposes was declared by the State and given the motto: "Be all you can be."

WOMEN'S LIBERATION. This topic has fallen from its much higher previous standings simply because much of the material written by women, or apparently for their attention, in the underground press is not more directly related to women than to men. It simply puts women into roles as revolutionists. Even this has decreased in favor of material on Southeast Asia. Among the sub-topics formerly given considerable attention in the underground press, the one most noticeably on the decline is "equal rights;" next in decline is "the oppression of marriage." "Sex roles are conditioned" continues to get considerable attention, as does "childbirth and abortion." "Sexual abuse by men" is lower than it formerly was and a rather easily identifiable body of material on sex techniques for women—including details on masturbation—has developed over the past weeks.

which will reduce the participation hoped for from its less militant supporters.

Running in and out of the accounts of the meetings held by these two groupings are free-wheeling groups and people such as Rennie Davis and the "Seattle 8" claiming they still plan to "shut the government down" if the "peace treaty" is not accepted.

Both major groupings of organizations seem to be in agreement on nationwide local actions April 2-4, calling for "anti-war and social justice demonstrations" and perhaps work stoppages and hunger strikes to mark the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King. There is also apparent agreement on campus and high school "actions" on May 5 to mark the Kent and Jackson State shootings of last year. The Long Island Free Press says on this: "don't mourn, organize!"

Otherwise, the indications at this time suggest some local activities during March 6-8 for "International Women's Day;" perhaps some anti-draft actions on March 15; and demonstrations on or near military bases on Armed Forces Day, May 16—Win specifies "planned demonstrations within the armed forces."

Unless one studies a number of underground papers it is not possible to obtain much of an understanding of what the underground press as a whole is saying. All of the publications which can be considered part of the underground press have carried at least some of the material we have been describing on the "spring offensive"—as have many of the conventional media. It is much like viewing an iceberg, however. In one category of underground papers one sees the very tip of the iceberg, in another category a bit more of the ice, in another a bit more, and in still another a part that is fairly deep under the water with less of a view of the out-of-the-water part.

As is generally true in journalism, even in the most radical forms, writers and editors are hesitant to hit their intended audiences with material which will not interest them or will actually repulse them. For example, the very tone of the college-oriented Argus has the ring of a very rowdy dormitory; that of street-gang-oriented Rising Up Angry sounds of the street; and the Quicksilver Times has increasingly displayed shades of the high school back-fence and wall type of writing.

Never has this characteristic been more apparent in the underground press than in its handling of the "spring offensive" material. One can almost see some of them straining between what CAN be said without frightening or disgusting a particular audience and what MUST be said to motivate the maximum number of people to action.

As examples, the Berkeley Tribe minces no words and devotes its cover to a Viet Cong group captioned "Defend the Ho Chi Minh Trail" and the San Francisco Good Times splashes its cover with a caricature of a berserk National Guardsman, gun blazing, shouting "Haw-ha, I Kent helped it—Ah got orders!" Nationally-circulated Guardian, never using four-letter words or anything close to pornography, comes through very intellectually but rather subtly uses "Vietnamese" to mean North Vietnamese and quotes North Vietnamese and Viet Cong leaders without labeling them as such. Atlanta's Great Speckled Bird, on the other hand, is usually blunt enough in art and language—has defended itself in court on four occasions for obscenity.

its politics. It printed the "people's peace treaty" and some of the intrigue involved, but left off some of the deeper undercurrent of the discussions on the "spring offensive." The D.C. Gazette printed the treaty, but left off all of the intrigue involved. The North Carolina Anvil, appearing very much the crusading community paper—avoids obscenities and publishes partial nudity rather coyly—seems reluctant actually to print the treaty but says it was negotiated by U.S. students with the SOUTH Vietnam Union of Students and the SOUTH Vietnam Liberation Student Union and is now being "widely circulated" in the Raleigh-Durham area. Not surprisingly, under these circumstances, it is able to list in its columns the names of some prominent citizens as sponsors of anti-war activities it advocates—despite its Underground Press Syndicate and Liberation News Service memberships.

MAJOR TOPICS OF THE PERIOD

Note: Each month, from a sample of underground papers from all sections of the country, we weigh the accumulation of emphasis given to each topic specifically identifiable—using such factors as circulation of each paper, allocation of space to a given topic, placement of articles on pages, the page on which the article appears, and the display or photographic art accompanying it. Thus, we are able to analyze the contents of the papers and list the topics they cover in an order which indicates the relative importance given to various matters by the underground press as a whole during the period studied.

The ten topics receiving the most emphasis during February 1971 are indicated in the following table by the numbers at the left of the topic list. Selected readings during the previous twelve months are shown at the right of that list:

Feb. 1971	Jan. 1971	Oct. 1970	Jul. 1970	Apr. 1970	Feb. 1970
1 REVOLUTION!	1	3	1	1	7
2 PERSONALITIES	2	1	2	3	5
3 ALTERNATE LIVING	4	Not measured then.			
4 SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR	6	19	18	18	17
5 ORGANIZATIONS	5	5	4	7	2
6 ROCK MUSIC	3	7	5	5	1
7 THE POLICE	9	6	7	8	13
8 DRUGS	18	21	23	27	14
9 MINORITY GROUPS	23	10	9	11	11
10 WOMEN'S LIBERATION	8	2	3	6	26

OBSERVABLE TRENDS

REVOLUTION! continues to hold 1st position for the third consecutive month. The Scanlan's list of "guerrilla acts of terrorism" is still receiving wide attention within this category, as are some of the strategy and tactics we have been discussing for the "spring offensive," but much of the material within the topic REVOLUTION! is concerned with the pros and cons of drugs and drug usage as "tools" or "weapons" of the revolution. We discuss these matters at length under the topic DRUGS beginning on page 5.

PERSONALITIES: The following received most of the attention in the present sample. As in previous reports, the plus and minus signs indicate a rise or fall in the amount of attention given to the topic during the present period versus

Leary's drug philosophy and kept repeating in her interview with the underground press how the Panthers understood Timothy and how Timothy "understood and was into the revolution." And this, perhaps, is the way Cleaver would have had it.

He said "Several years ago, what Timothy was doing was very progressive, it had an uprooting effect, a jarring effect, and it was part of the long process of" young White people turning away and rejecting the values of their society. "But that has passed," he added, "Things have changed since then. We want people to gather their wits, to sober up, and to get down to the serious business of destroying the Babylonian empire" (Cleaver's habitual reference to the United States). "We need," he continued, "sober, stone-cold revolutionaries, motivated by revolutionary love, men and women who fit the description given by Comrade Che Guevara: 'cool, calculating killing machines to be turned against the enemy,' people who have a firm ideological foundation, who know how to implement their ideology for the purpose of carrying out this revolution."

Apparently Leary was not his man. Cleaver told him quite directly that he wanted an announcement of denunciation of drug usage—specifically LSD—to be broadcast to Leary's political "constituency" in the United States.

Cleaver told him he needed "the active support of those people who are waiting on you. Those people comprise sufficient numbers to liberate political prisoners, and to construct the revolutionary weapon we need to overthrow the government . . . the way they are dealing with it now is ultimately passive. It's not actively dismantling the System. It rejects the System, it condemns the System, but it does not physically demolish the System." Later, Cleaver told Leary: "Using acid, using drugs is a form of escape from confrontation of something that CAN be dealt with. If the System could NOT be dealt with, if it was utterly impossible to deal with that System, then I would advocate the next best thing. Tripping out."

Here perhaps lies another paradox in the opposite views of Leary and Cleaver on drug usage. Cleaver quickly thinks of drugs as an out for complete frustration—when something simply can NOT be dealt with. This is the common reason we hear for drug usage in the ghetto culture from which the Panthers try to recruit. Extreme frustration and futility are natural parts of that environment. The world is ugly and appears depraved and oppressive from the ghetto.

Some weeks later, when he was not, as he put it, "arguing with his parole officer," Leary expressed his views on revolution and drugs: "My tensions with the Panthers have stemmed directly from my philosophy of revolution. Many revolutionaries today—not just the Panthers—feel that if you're a real revolutionary, you'll go out there full time with a gun. I don't agree with that. You've got to have Internal Peace of Mind . . . then you move into the political arena . . . I think if my philosophy is understood, we might find a way out of this boring, repetitious cycle of one armed group overthrowing another and becoming just as bad . . . In order to break this cycle you must free people's nervous systems. Free their nervous systems and the rest follows. That is my philosophy. . ."

Cleaver told the world that Leary had "blown his mind with too many acid trips." He may or may not have been serious about this. And, he may or may not have realized Leary either did not understand the tactical and political

use of drugs, the time for which Cleaver said had passed, nor the "revolutionary consciousness raising" uses his Weatherman liberators speak of, or he chose to ignore both.

Cleaver's original reference to a time when he approved of drugs as a revolutionary tool had to do with their use being an "act of defiance of the law." This is a point long made in the underground press. A Liberation News Service article, in 1969, made the point: "The first thing drugs do is put you immediately outside the law. They give a lot of kids their first sense of belonging to a special group that's against the government . . . laws won't hurt real revolutionaries; they're outside the law already. . ."

This is a major point in the use of drugs in young White American revolutionist groups—and it is not a purely legal proposition. The Las Vegas Free Press, which maintains it does not advocate drug usage, ran an article in February recommending the legalization of all drugs as a means of reducing the spread of addiction and crime. This may or may not be effective in ordinary drug usage, but it has nothing to do with the tactical advocacy of drugs Cleaver referred to and the Liberation News Service spoke of. Whatever drug was legalized would be abandoned by the revolutionist recruiter for one which had not been legalized. The point is to encourage some form of behavior which the society simply cannot accept. When an individual can be led into that behavior he will incur the disapproval, perhaps punishment, even rejection of the society and thus be an alienated candidate for recruiting.

The Chicago Seed, a strong advocate of psychedelics, makes this point: "... The secondary effects of drug use (the harassment, the drug busts) have provided real, and sometimes frightening experiences for many of us with white skin, who, otherwise might have gone on thinking that a cop was just that guy in uniform who directs traffic, and that jails really were full of 'criminals'."

What we are seeing a very small part of here is the artificial creation of a cultural gap. A writer in the Ann Arbor Argus spoke of it as moving from a "generation gap" to an "interstellar" war. That may be far-fetched but the point being recognized is that the strategy being followed by the revolutionists in America today is one best suited to inter-class or intercultural warfare—the "have nots" or the "outs" becoming angry enough to use violence against the "haves" or "ins" in the face of great odds. In the case of the young Whites involved, they are from the "have" or "in" group and to become angry or alienated enough to be willing to attack their own and to attack a system as strong as they see this one to be they have to be provided with what amounts to a completely separate culture—"counter-culture" is a very common expression in the underground papers. It has to be a real cleavage too, to be effective. In a society as permissive as the American society today it takes some doing. Sex would not be strong enough, although as Other Scenes put it, "Sex is one of the things that gets the other generation up tight . . . it's one of the things that revolutionaries use as an inexpensive, effortless tactic to upset people." The society has simply absorbed more liberal sex customs. Obscenities have worked essentially the same. Hair keeps dander up, as do "freaky" clothes, but none of these is the society as likely to react to so strongly as drug usage.

Bernardine Dohrn touches on this in her "Weatherman communication" concerning last fall's change in tactics. She

Below the top ten, HOMOSEXUALITY and POLLUTION/ECOLOGY showed the greatest increase in emphasis. Each climbed 6 positions in the period and now stand at 18th and 15th respectively. NIXON/AGNEW climbed five positions and now ranks 16th. LABOR climbed 3 to 9th. BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY climbed to 11th after falling to 12th in the previous period. CAMPUS ACTIVITIES continued to hold 14th position—it had fallen 6 in December after gaining 9 in November. PRISONS slipped 1 position to 20th. MILITARY/DRAFT fell 4 positions. RELIGION/THE OCCULT fell 9. THE COURTS dropped 10 and FEDERAL AGENCIES dropped 13. The last five topics have a tendency to fluctuate and are simply displaced when other fluctuating topics, such as DRUGS and MINORITY GROUPS command so much of the attention.

THE DRUG ISSUE

The topic DRUGS was catapulted into prominence in the current period by a public argument in Algeria between former college professor Dr. Timothy Leary and Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver over the appropriateness of drugs in "the revolution." Leary, with his "Turn on, tune in, drop out" slogan, has contended drugs are essential in the revolution and Cleaver stands his ground that drug usage has served its purpose in bringing large numbers of White youths into the revolutionary camp, but now must be regarded as counter-revolutionary. Not only have the underground papers given wide publication to the separate and joint statements of the two men on this matter, but they have also carried numerous articles and letters expressing the views of supporters of each side as the argument has been followed by radicals and revolutionists in the United States in the press, on radio, and finally on television.

A study of the basic positions of the two men, the comments of their separate supporters, and an examination of the treatment of drugs and drug usage by the underground press appear to us to offer a great amount of information on drug usage in the United States today and perhaps some clues as to the reason for its spread through such a large portion of the youth population. The story of Leary and Cleaver also reveals a great deal about Black-White relations in the revolutionary movement and involves several of the key organizations and people in that movement. We therefore will try to piece the story together, as it can be gleaned from the underground papers, and provide some information on how the underground papers handle drugs in general.

We suspect this last might have more broad relevance than is immediately apparent. We note that in a survey conducted by a panel of nationally recognized experts, in an East Coast school system, high school and junior high students gave four sources of information as influencing them to use drugs: television, magazines, friends, and underground newspapers. Of these four, the students overwhelmingly named friends as most influential, with underground newspapers second.

The Leary-Cleaver dispute is not only a matter carried in the underground press, it is actually an argument concerning how the underground press should portray drug usage as part of the revolution—for, by its own repeated admission, the underground press is the primary means for dissemination

of the "party lines" of the various revolutionist organizations. The conventional media and conventional drug authorities have a tendency to categorize drugs as to whether they are "physically addictive" or "psychologically addictive." The underground publications and authorities categorize them according to political values. The majority of the underground papers encourage the usage of certain drugs with an amount of discouragement toward the usage of others. Cleaver's party encourages no usage! We believe the reasoning from both sides to be significant.

In an interview of Cleaver and Leary by Michael Zwerin, for New York's *Village Voice*, it becomes quite clear as to how and why Timothy and Rosemary Leary happened to be accepted under the protectorate of the Black Panthers "in exile," or as Cleaver prefers, "the Inter-Communal Section of the Black Panther Party." Leary says: "Rosemary and I saw ourselves as being the first white Americans to say that we would rather be under the protection of Huey Newton's guns than J. Edgar Hoover's guns." And Cleaver says "You and Rosemary coming here and placing yourselves within the framework of our activity here, does result in some political leverage."

This interview took place a few days after Cleaver had placed the Learys under house arrest because of what he considered Timothy's continued advocacy of the "drug culture" and his reception of a continual flow of "hippies" and "drug freaks" coming to Algeria to "worship at the feet of the high priest of drugs."

And herein lies the paradox of the situation in which Cleaver and the Learys found themselves at the time this discussion was taking place. Leary had long been the self-styled high priest of the "drug culture," the advocate of LSD and marijuana who gave up his professorship and eventually went to prison over his insistence on their use. In truth, Leary had just about worn out his attractiveness to young drug enthusiasts when he was sent to prison. But he went to prison over drugs! And the underground press said he was a "political prisoner" and that if the drug laws were to be seriously challenged Timothy had to be freed. "Free Timothy! Contribute to the Timothy Leary Defense Fund!" went the cries on the pages of the underground papers. Leary was suddenly a "cause" and not only did people contribute to the defense fund to "free Timothy" and challenge the drug laws, but he caught the eye of the Weatherman organization and became a possibility for them to demonstrate their prowess in helping him to escape from prison and spiriting him to Algeria as Cleaver's Panther associates had spirited him some weeks earlier.

Thus, however and whenever Cleaver was talked into taking Timothy and his wife under the wings of the Panthers in Algeria he must have believed he was accepting the comradeship of the "chosen one" of the elite of the White revolutionist organizations in the United States—the FBI-eluding, hard-bombing Weathermen. As he says quite plainly in the interview cited, he was looking "toward unity in the American revolutionary movement. He was not expecting, nor did he intend to accept, the 'silly, psychedelic drug culture . . . which we allied ourselves with in the past because it was our judgment at that time . . . what we had to work with from white America.'"

Jennifer Dohrn apparently foresaw trouble between Leary and Cleaver when she visited Algeria last fall. As we reported previously, she seemed overly apologetic about

ground papers feel so free to pass out information on drugs and drug treatment, at times from what are apparently the most questionable sources.

A recent example of this appeared in Washington's *Quicksilver Times*, or at least information which had appeared in this paper was rather frantically called into question by an individual signing his name as a medical doctor. The article being called to question purported to offer emergency treatment for someone who had taken an overdose of heroin. The writing had something of a medical ring to it, especially to a layman, and signed off with a warning that heroin would only make you a "junkie." In the next issue of the paper, however, a letter to the editor, as noted above, signed as if by a doctor, called it an "unfortunate article" and warned that the treatment described was not only impractical in the usual drug-abuse environment, but would more often than not result in tragedy.

This is not uncommon in the underground press. There are some papers which seem to try to avoid such things, but more often their contempt for the regular society, or at least their determination to demonstrate it, leads not only to print faulty advice, but to couch it in such language, or to surround it with such cartoonery or art that it normalizes drug use—makes it seem the "in" or, at best, slightly naughty thing to do.

This normalizing of drugs of various kinds, especially marijuana, makes them a very real part of the scenery in the world of the underground press. The marijuana leaf is the most common of symbols used in underground papers and almost any left-over space in a paper is likely to be filled with some "arty" usage of this leaf, the bush itself, or simply the doodled words associated with drugs. Covers of the papers often feature the leaf or the plant and some papers have names with drug meanings—"Teaspoon Door," for example is the heroin users' heating spoon and the word "door" is often used in this language to mean "mind."

There are also cartoons and comic strips which advocate, or at least normalize, drug usage. One such strip, "The Freak Brothers,"—the very name of which carries drug meaning—is quite well done as such strips go, but is one big syndicated marijuana binge.

EDITOR'S SUMMARY—A great deal of confusion and some disagreement can be seen in "the movement," but it seems evident that a number of rallies will take place in April and May—with April 2-4, April 24th, May 5, and May 16 appearing to be the most likely at this time.

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There are undoubtedly many people involved in planning these affairs who sincerely seek peace, who have no violent intentions, and who, perhaps do not even understand some of the intrigue and innuendo they must note around them. There are others, and their number is certainly smaller, who are quite well aware of the undercurrents involved, may be confident they can maintain control over the situation or are probably prepared to endure an amount of violence to make a point. There is undoubtedly an even smaller group who seek violence and especially if they can be assured someone else will be blamed for it—law enforcement officers, or elements of the military, in particular. There is even evidence of hope on their parts that they can get a certain amount of complicity out of the military.

Running across all of this array of commitments of people is the "people's peace treaty" which can hardly be taken seriously by any government in the world, but may well appear convincing to some really enthusiastic members of the various groups—and may be visualized as having worth by many less enthusiastic people who have not seen it.

All in all, there is building up a combination of factors which could result in great pressure being placed on government officials on matters, and in ways, which are really beyond their control. In the streets these factors may well cause demonstrators to go beyond previous bounds—this is one of the prospects those who actually seek violence are counting on. It is likely they will try to inject this prospect if it appears unlikely to come about naturally.

We devoted an unusual amount of space to one topic, DRUGS, in this edition. We felt the matter had come to the surface in an amount of detail not likely to be found elsewhere and we felt that true understanding of the situation was unlikely without some of the contextual and language flavor found in the underground papers themselves. Much more could have been written and much less, but the realities of the situation seemed a bit difficult to imagine—even to those of us who regularly read underground press material.

The underground press and the revolutionist movement did not invent drug abuse—some few of the papers did come out of what was formerly a rather small "drug scene." They do not make money out of drug abuse, that still goes to organized crime—a point over which they often raise a great cry. They have, however, adopted drugs as the keystone of the "counter-culture" from which they feel they can draw support, now and in the future. They do encourage marijuana, LSD, mescaline, and a number of other hallucinogens, essentially as an adventure-attraction to the "counter-culture" and an initiation into it. They do not, intentionally, encourage "hard drugs"—although a good argument could be made for their continuous printing of the sights and sounds of hard drug usage as contributing to drug usage of all kinds. They perhaps feel they are protecting themselves from this accusation, at least in the minds of their own readers, by continually arguing that the U.S. government pushes the use of heroin among the poor and minority groups—"as a means of keeping them in line." The undergrounds' own stated reason for discouraging "hard drug" usage is that an addict is no good in "the movement"—and there is no doubt that strengthening "the movement" is the main reason for the underground press.

says: "And marijuana and LSD and little money and awakening to the Black revolution" made it possible for them to "move against the system" in such drastic ways.

Again, there is a paradox here in connection with drugs and the revolution. The Black revolutionist not only did not need drugs to set him off in a separate culture—years of segregation and, for many, the ghetto did that—but his people are often so aware of drug abuse and what it has done in their ghettos that they have been known to barricade their streets in their demands for stopping drug traffic. Underground papers aimed at the ghettos do not advocate drugs. Black leaders, whether revolutionist or reformist cannot get support from their people unless they denounce drug abuse. Although Cleaver makes the point that he is not really against marijuana, "when not on revolutionary business," the Panthers' paper has none of the drawings, ads, or articles encouraging marijuana that are almost the hallmark of the undergrounds aimed at primarily White audiences.

In addition to using drugs as the keystone of the "counter-culture," the revolutionists use them as a substitute for the "consciousness raising" the hard-line ideologues speak of.

Diane di Prima, who might be regarded as the "poetess laureate" of the revolution, suggests this to be true: "One of the most revolutionary things that's happened is the use of hallucinogens. Drugs don't only reveal the falseness of bourgeois structure, they release the life force in us, they awake in us the desire to live as free animals in a particular landscape... Information was opened to us through acid. Now if revolutionaries are talking from the head (following ideology rather than dealing with root things, like dance, sex, and magic), history has already passed them by... I think it's stupid for the white drug culture to goose-step with the Communist Party."

As perhaps Cleaver was suggesting, underground writers further along the road to revolution than Diane di Prima think drug usage is a stage in revolutionary development. This from the *Berkeley Tribe*: "We can no longer relate to the drug culture and its slogans of 'peace' and 'love.' All it has meant in our experience is 'peace' in the suburb, and 'love' of the conditions necessary to maintain it. It is time to come down... we must take the initiative to acquire an objective view of the world. Since we have generally not based our thinking on dialectical materialism, we have denied ourselves the only weapon that leads to a concrete understanding of the contradictions in our society."

Both the counter-culture point and "consciousness raising" are made in a letter to the editor of Philadelphia's *Thursday's Drummer*: "Before drugs found their way to middle Amerika, middle Amerikan children were just that—middle future Amerikans. Through the course of my last six years in the 'drug scene' I have seen hundreds of ho-hum minds expanded, broadened, etc. It is a true fact, drugs open the mind. We must realize that without the help of grass and hashish and a little mescaline that many of today's young people would have followed their parents' wishes... some young Amerikans would have plotted their lives in a revolutionary course; however, many would not have done this. Drugs were the first common ground; drugs are part of our culture."

Neither the revolutionists nor many of the publications which make up the large and varying family we see as the undergrounds advocate what they speak of as "hard drugs."

In discussing Cleaver's "busting" of Leary for advocating the psychedelics: "We turned onto acid since everybody knows that smack [heroin] is a bringdown, and you can't function behind it. But who told us that? Well, it was our sisters and brothers who are struggling in the ghetto, on the reservation, and in all the other outlets to the Mafia services. So did we get uptight when the Panthers condemned heroin and relate it to ourselves?"

*It has been a common story in the undergrounds for a number of months now that the "establishment," sometimes said "the government," keeps heroin going into the poor areas and among the "street people" to "keep them under control." Perhaps this is a transferral from the views and language of the ghetto—which is often true in the underground press—where the Mafia very likely appears to be "establishment." This is not the case, however, with the following story taken from the February 20-27 edition of the *Berkeley Tribe*.*

"There is a new theory going around the psychedelic world about the American presence in Indochina and specifically about the invasion of Laos... We are invading Laos and Cambodia to get the opium harvest, for if we don't, the economy of Laos, and hence the Royal Laotian Government will fall." It goes on to say the CIA is masterminding this operation and using its aircraft to fly the opium out. "This is the route by which some heroin gets into the U.S. Between the heroin from Southeast Asia and that from Turkey, the CIA is able to flood the ghettos of America with this killer and destroy the revolutionary process of the poor."

DRUG ENCOURAGEMENT IN THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

Much has been said and written in recent months about the suggestiveness of some popular song lyrics toward drug usage. This is often so subtly done a member of the "straight world" might miss it. From the previous paragraphs this is obviously not always true in the underground newspapers. Although there are some subtleties still, not as many as there were a year or so ago. They are quite open in advertising drug paraphernalia and even in advertising marijuana plants and synthetic drugs of various kinds—especially LSD and mescaline. Perhaps of more critical concern, however, should be the manner in which under-

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